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Affixoidhungrig? Skitbra!

Comparing affixoids in German and Swedish

In this article we offer a comparative survey of word-forming elements in German and Swedish known as “affixoids”. A highly controversial topic in German linguistics, the notion of “affixoid” does remain useful given the position of the elements in question midway along the cline between compounding and derivation – so useful in fact that we feel it ought to be adopted into Swedish linguistics, where it is as yet unknown. After an overview of the main positions and issues in the debate over affixoids in German, we survey the corresponding elements in Swedish, point out some convergent and divergent tendencies in the two languages, and then compare a few selected affixoids in more detail. We end with some wider issues, focusing mainly on the advantages of the crosslinguistic perspective and on the idea that the relationship of affixoids with their respective “parent morphs” can be described in terms of grammaticalization.

1. Introduction

While the cross-linguistic study of grammatical structures has a long-standing tradition, and comparative lexicology is rapidly coming into its own, too, cross-linguistic comparison in the domain of word-formation is still relatively rare. This is surprising given that word-formation is a morphological phenomenon straddling lexicon and grammar (see BYBEE 2000 for relevant parameters) and that the cross-linguistic study of word-formation can therefore resort at least partly to notions and methods well-known from the study of the lexicon–grammar cline. In this endeavour, approaches developed within functional typology (a school of research interested in cross-linguistic and language-internal variation patterns and in how such patterns reflect the effects of external and internal pressures on linguistic structure, cf. CROFT 2003) are likely to prove particularly helpful.

In the present paper, we would like to offer a modest contribution to the study of word-formation from the functional-typological point of view by focusing on a type of word-forming elements called “affixoids”. Affixoids are a well-known phenomenon in the Germanic languages, where they occur in either a prefixing or a suffixing function: German *Riesen-* ‘giant’, *bitter-* ‘bitter’ and the (in)famous *Scheiß-* ‘shit’ are examples of the former (i.e. “prefixoids”), German *-freundlich* ‘friendly’ and *-papst* ‘Pope’ are examples of the latter (i.e. “suffixoids”). What has made affixoids controversial among linguists is their apparent status in-between two well-established categories, viz. root and affix: this, together with the fact that there is no separate word-forming process of “*Affixioidierung”, has led some authors to effectively ban the term “affixoid” on grounds that it does not denote a valid category of the linguistic system (thus for the first time SCHMIDT 1987, followed by FLEISCHER & BARZ 1995 and DONALIES 2005, inter alia). Such a dogmatic position can hardly do justice to the specific issues raised by the phenomenon itself, however, and other authors (e.g. MOTSCH 1996, implicitly also

BERGMANN et al. 2005) have therefore tended to take a compromise position which does retain “affixoid” as an empirically supported term without categorial associations. Under this approach, one of the main focal points of interest has been the transparent diachronic relationship between affixoids and their etyma, whose highly systematic nature has been described by some authors in terms of grammaticalization (STEVENS 2005, similarly MUNSKE 2002; briefly also HASPELMATH 1992: 71f., Römer 2000: 37f. and several authors who mention the term “grammaticalization” in connection with affixoids without elaborating).

In our paper, we start from the same position. Not only do we believe (like GIANNOULOPOULOU, this issue) in the usefulness of the notion of grammaticalization in modelling the lexicon–grammar cline generally, we feel that the grammaticalization approach to affixoids specifically has a lot to gain from the cross-linguistic perspective (cf. already HAASE 1988: 38). As we found, comparing affixoids across languages is particularly instructive in the case of Swedish, not only because Swedish can have prefixoids on verbs (something impossible in German), but also because Swedish linguists (e.g. SÖDERBERGH 1968, LUNDBLADH 2002) recognize only “prefixlika förleder” (‘prefix-like first members’, e.g. *jätte-* ‘giant’, *skit-* ‘shit’, etc.) and/or “suffixlika efterleder” (‘suffix-like second members’, e.g. *-vänlig* ‘friendly’, *-hungrig* ‘hungry’) and not as yet any higher-level category corresponding to “affixoid”. After an overview of affixoids in German and Swedish (sections 2 and 3, respectively), we present the results of a recent corpus-based survey of affixoids in present-day German and Swedish (ASCOOP 2004), first in broad terms and then with a detailed focus on a few particularly interesting prefixoids and suffixoids in both languages (section 4). This leads finally to consideration of some wider issues for future research (section 5).

2. Affixoids in German

2.1. Overview

Though many researchers in German word-formation will be familiar with the phenomenon of affixoids, they may well have encountered it under some other term, most likely “Halb-Affix” (i.e. ‘semi-affix’, e.g. LACHACHI 1992) – whence also “Halb-Präfix” and “Halb-Suffix”. This terminology was inspired by MARCHAND (1969: 356), who in his classic definition describes as semi-suffixes “such elements as stand midway between full words and suffixes”. It is true that “affixoid” (like “suffixoid” and “prefixoid”, for that matter) is not a very fortunate term given that the suffix *-oid* could suggest that the elements in question are somehow derived from affixes (cf. SCHMIDT 1987: 96f.), but since there is no clear alternative, it will be retained here. Nor, incidentally, should MARCHAND’s expression “stand midway” be taken too literally; in fact, affixoids may occupy various positions between root status and affixhood (cf. below). Hence, the particular position at which a given affixoid seems to “stand” synchronically on the cline in question may result simply from a snapshot of its diachronic shift along the path, as suggested by the relevant parameters.

“Affixoid” is a cover term for prefixoids and suffixoids, and as we see it, one of its advantages is precisely that it helps bring out commonalities in two phenomena that can seem functionally quite distinct at first sight. As first pointed out in a

systematic way by PETERMANN (1971), prefixoids are usually augmentative or taxative with respect to some meaning element of the lexeme with which they combine. For instance, if the prefixoid *Riesen-* is combined with the noun *Lärm* ‘noise’, the result (*Riesenlärm* ‘huge noise’) is a noun describing a particularly loud noise; if the prefixoid *bitter-* is combined with the adjective *süß* ‘sweet’, the result (*bittersüß* ‘bittersweet’) is an adjective denoting sweetness with an added element of bitterness. Suffixoids have corresponding semantic functions of their own: well-known subgroups of words formed with suffixoids are known as “Kollektivbildungen” (e.g. *Buschwerk* ‘undergrowth’), “Possessivbildungen” (e.g. *mitleidsvoll* ‘feeling or showing compassion’) and “Privativbildungen” (e.g. *asbestfrei* ‘free or devoid of asbestos’; see FANDRYCH 1993). In addition, suffixoids have a transposing function, i.e. they change the word-class of the lexeme which they combine. E.g., if the noun *Mitleid* ‘compassion’ is combined with the suffixoid *-voll* ‘full’, which is based on the adjective *voll* ‘full’, the result (*mitleidsvoll* ‘compassionate’) is an adjective. Another common element is the fact that prefixoids and suffixoids in German are usually based on nouns or adjectives. Examples of noun-based prefixoids are *Affen-*, *Blitz-*, *Bomben-*, *Grund-*, *Haupt-*, *Heiden-*, *Höllen-*, *Mords-*, *Pfunds-*, *Riesen-*, *Scheiß-*, *Spitzen-* etc. (all of which yield typical “Augmentativbildungen”). Noun-based suffixoids are *-gut*, *-kram*, *-material*, *-welt*, *-werk*, *-wesen*, *-zeug* etc.; an example which does not yield a typical “Kollektivbildung” is *-papst* (lit. ‘Pope’, as in *Literaturpapst* ‘leading authority in literary criticism’). Examples of adjective-based prefixoids are *bitter-*, *hoch-*, adjective-based suffixoids (often yielding “Privativ-” or “Possessivbildungen”) are *-arm*, *-betont* (originally the past participle of the verb *betonen* ‘emphasize’), *-fähig*, *-fertig*, *-frei*, *-freundlich*, *-hungrig*, *-leer*, *-los*, *-mäßig*, *-reich* and *-voll*. A rare example of a verb-based prefixoid is *stink-*, which yields more “Augmentativbildungen” (e.g. *stinklangweilig* ‘dead boring’).

2.2. Theoretical and Empirical Issues

If proof were still needed that the label “affixoid” is a helpful one to subsume prefixoids and suffixoids, it might come from the fact that the synchronic status of prefixoids and suffixoids between root and affix can be analysed by means of the same criteria. The following five “tests” for affixoid status are suggested by STEVENS on the basis of previous literature (2005: 73f.):

(i) Affixoids exist alongside a formally identical, and usually free, “parent” morph. Examples are the prefixoid *Riese(n)-* as in *Riesenlärm* ‘huge noise’ vis-à-vis the noun *Riese* ‘giant’, and the suffixoid *-arm* as in *schadstoffarm* ‘low in pollutants’ vis-à-vis the adjective *arm* ‘poor’.

(ii) The affixoid is semantically more generalized and abstract and may have special metaphorical uses (as when *Lärm* is described metaphorically in terms of ‘giant’).

(iii) The other member, not the affixoid, determines the basic meaning. For instance, *Riesenkrach* (with the augmentative prefixoid *Riesen-*) designates a giant noise, not a giant’s noise, and *Schulwesen* (with the collectivizing suffixoid *-wesen*) designates everything to do with schools and schooling rather than, say, a creature (*Wesen*) at school.

(iv) Affixoids (in particular suffixoids) are in competition or complementary distribution with affixes. For example, *-werk* as in *Buschwerk* alternates with *ge-* as in *Gebüsch* (both meaning ‘bushes, undergrowth’), *-los* as in *gefährlos* with *un-* as in *ungefährlich* (‘not dangerous’), *-voll* as in *sehnsuchtsvoll* with *-ig* as in *sehnsüchtig* (‘nostalgic’).

(v) affixoids are serial and usually highly productive, especially in spoken registers. Thus, the prefixoid *Riesen-* may combine not only with *Lärm* but also with *Ärger* (*Riesenärger* ‘huge trouble’), *Gewinn* (*Riesengewinn* ‘huge profit’) and many other roots, the suffixoid *-frei* may combine with *Atomwaffen* (*atomwaffenfrei* ‘free of nuclear weapons’), *Kosten* (*kostenfrei* ‘free of charge’) etc., and the prefixoid *Scheiß-* is routinely being combined in substandard German with any number of roots from *Abend* to *Zustand* (*Scheißabend* ‘unpleasant evening’, *Scheißzustand* ‘unbearable situation’, etc. etc.).

Though some of the tests are controversial individually (cf. e.g. Barz 1989 for critical discussion of series-formation or “Reihenbildung”), the basic question of research into word-formation by means of affixoids in German has been whether taken together they establish a categorial focal point (“einen kategorialen Schwerpunkt”) with well-defined distributional characteristics (EISENBERG 2004: 214). Historically, answers have ranged from an affirmative position (as in the early editions of FLEISCHER’s widely-read survey of German word-formation, e.g. 1971: 63-67) through a radically negative position (SCHMIDT 1987) and a more ambivalent, though still basically negative attitude (HANSEN & HARTMANN 1991) to a compromise (MOTSCH 1996). The compromise position agrees that affixoids do not involve any special word-forming processes and that most word-formation products containing affixoids can be analysed as compounds which complement or compete with existing derivation patterns; hence there is no reason to assume that affixoids form a categorial “Schwerpunkt” in their own right between root and affix (EISENBERG 2004: 214). At the same time, the tests do raise significant issues which must not be pushed out of sight by an effective ban on the term “affixoid” (MOTSCH 1996: 160). One of the issues has to do with the fact (already acknowledged by SCHMIDT 1987: 97) that it is not feasible to treat compounding and derivation as totally separate, watertight categories; rather, they are prototypes (FLEISCHER 2000: 892). That this is the case not only synchronically but also diachronically is shown inter alia by the status of some affixoids as historical way-stations between root and affix: examples include *-heit / -keit* (from the Old High German noun *heid* ‘person, rank, state’; cf. Gothic *haidus* and English *-hood*), *-lich* (from a noun meaning ‘body, dead body’; cf. the English adverbial suffix *-ly*), German *-tum / English -dom* etc. (see HENZEN 1965: 186-193, 209f., also ERBEN 2000: 136-141 and, with additional references, STEVENS 2000 and 2005). Given such observations, the compromise view concludes that the notion of “affixoid” is justified empirically as a cover term (“Sammelbezeichnung”) for the range of word-formation phenomena on the transition from one prototype to the other (MOTSCH 1996: 161). Once the systematic nature of these phenomena is recognized, the advantages of the grammaticalization approach to affixoids and of the cross-linguistic perspective become apparent – even though some of the proponents of grammaticalization in this context, above all MUNSKE (2002),

continue to avoid the term “affixoid” itself while managing to say extremely insightful things about the very phenomenon it is intended to designate.

3. Affixoids in Swedish

Unlike German linguistics, which has a long tradition of studying and discussing affixoids, research into affixoids in Swedish is still in its early stages, and there is no vivid debate about them as there is among Germanists. The phenomenon does not even have a label in Swedish: if at all, it is known by the name of ‘prefixlik förled’ or ‘suffixlik efterled’. In other words, most grammar handbooks look upon word-forming elements like *jätte-* ‘giant’ and *-måssig* ‘-wise’ only as prefixes and suffixes, respectively. They deal with the productivity of these elements and their generality of meaning, but do not treat them as manifestations of a larger phenomenon, viz. affixoids.

There are some works, however, that do discuss affixoid-related matters: the Swedish Academy Grammar talks about the borderline between prefix and compound being vague, mentioning as an example prefixes with a generalized meaning like *jätte-* (TELEMAN et al. 1999: II.186), and in her *Svensk Ordbildning*, SÖDERBERGH mentions the transition from root to prefix or suffix, an increase in productivity and a generalization of meaning (1968: 29f., 60). The only in-depth discussion of affixoid-related issues so far is Carl-Erik LUNDBLADH’s article “Prefixlika förleder” (2002), but even there, only prefixoids are acknowledged. In general, there is therefore little occasion for debate among Swedish linguists like SÖDERBERGH, LUNDBLADH and others who mention affixoids. These authors are primarily interested in the augmentative function of the “prefixlik förled”, and do not raise any wide-ranging theoretical issues in this context.

And yet, there are good arguments for claiming that Swedish does have affixoids. Not only are affixoids extremely popular in both languages at the moment, the structural parallelism is also obvious: there is the basic division into prefixoids and suffixoids, which have essentially the same specific functions, and just like their German counterparts, Swedish affixoids are formed on the basis of nouns, adjectives and occasionally verb stems. Such prefixoids as *as-* ‘carcass’, *blixt-* ‘lightning’, *död-* ‘death’, *grädde-* ‘cream’, *jätte-* ‘giant’, *kalas-* ‘party’, *kanon-* ‘canon’, *record-* ‘reckord’, *skit-* ‘shit’, *storm-* ‘strom’, *svin-* ‘pig, swine’, *vrål-* ‘roar’ (all of them used for typical “Augmentativbildungen”) and suffixoids like *-verk* ‘work’ and *-väsen* ‘being’ (used for “Kollektivbildungen”), *-nisse* (from the male Christian name *Nils*), *-skalle* ‘skull’ are noun-based. Examples of adjective-based prefixoids are *fet-* ‘fat’, *hard-* ‘hard’, *hög-* ‘high’, *tok-* ‘crazy, mad’ and *-fattig* ‘poor’, *-fri* ‘free’, *-galen* ‘crazy, mad’, *-glad* ‘happy’, *-intensiv* ‘intensive’, *-stark* ‘strong’, *-säker* ‘certain’, *-sugen* (‘sucked’, past participle of the verb *suga* ‘to suck’), *-trött* ‘tired’, *-tung* ‘heavy’, *-vänlig* ‘friendly’ are examples of adjective-based suffixoids. The third, verb-based group is significantly smaller, just as in German, and includes the prefixoids *sprang-* ‘to burst, explode’ and *stört-* ‘to fall down’. In both German and Swedish, prefixoids are mainly noun-based and suffixoids mainly adjective-based.

But the strongest argument in favour of affixoids must be the fact that one can arrange individual Swedish affixoids on a cline between root and affix just as

easily as their German counterparts, and that STEVENS' affixoid-tests apply just as naturally in Swedish:

(i) Affixoids exist alongside a formally identical, and usually free, "parent" morph. Examples are the prefixoid *jätte-* as in *jättebråk* 'huge noise' vis-à-vis the noun *jätte* 'giant', and the suffixoid *-fattig* as in *kalorifattig* 'free of calories' vis-à-vis the adjective *fattig* 'poor'.

(ii) The affixoid is semantically more generalized and abstract and may have special metaphorical uses (as when *bråk* is described metaphorically in terms of 'giant').

(iii) The other member, not the affixoid, determines the basic meaning. For instance, *jättebråk* (with the augmentative prefixoid *jätte-*) designates a giant noise, not a giant's noise, and *skolväsen* (with the collectivizing suffixoid *-väsen*) designates everything to do with schools and schooling rather than, say, a creature (*väsen*) at school.

(iv) Affixoids (in particular suffixoids) are in competition or complementary distribution with affixes. For example, *-full* as in *långtansfull* alternates with the participle *långtande* (both meaning 'desirous').

(v) affixoids are serial and usually highly productive, especially in spoken registers. Thus, the prefixoid *jätte-* may combine not only with *bråk* but also with *succé* (*jättesuccé* 'huge success'), *vinst* (*jättevinst* 'huge profit') and many other roots, the suffixoid *-fri* may combine with *drog* (*drogfri* 'free of drugs'), *tax* (*taxfri* 'free of taxes') etc., and the prefixoid *skit-* may combine with almost any root, for example *skitbra* 'very good', *skitkväll* 'unpleasant evening' and so on.

On the other hand, Swedish affixoids have two characteristics which distinguish them from affixoids in German. First of all, Swedish prefixoids can be combined with verbs, for example *asgarva* 'to laugh one's head off', *fethaja* 'to comprehend something very well', *hårdbanta* 'to diet radically', *megasupa* 'to get very pissed', *vrålplugga* 'to cram very hard'. Secondly, prefixoids can be more easily be used elliptically than in German, as e.g. in *botten-* 'bottom', *fet-*, *jätte-*, *kalas-*, *kanon-*, *knall-* 'bang', *toppen-* 'top, peak'. A typical exchange in which such a prefixoid is used elliptically would be: *Är du trött? – Jätte!* 'Are you tired? – Very!' There are a few cases where this is possible in German (e.g. *Wie fandest du den Film? – Klasse!* 'What did you think about the film? – Phantastic!'), but all in all this phenomenon is much less productive than in Swedish; in the dialogue just cited, e.g., it would be impossible to reply with the corresponding prefixoid (**Riesen!*); rather, one would have to use an adjective (*Riesig!*). Incidentally, the fact that *jätte* has the more generalized meaning in such cases, not the meaning of the root, shows that we really are dealing with the prefixoid here.

4. A Comparative Approach to Affixoids in German and Swedish

4.1. Overview

For her graduation thesis, ASCOOP (2004) conducted a corpus-based comparative survey of affixoids in German and Swedish. The main source for German were the large text corpora provided online by the *Institut der deutschen Sprache* in Mannheim, which also provides the Cosmas II search tool free of charge, and for Swedish the *Språkbanken* corpus at Gothenburg university. The main unilingual

and bilingual dictionaries of both languages were also consulted. On this basis, Ascoop made an overview of the most important affixoids and examined them for each language. This brought up new contrastive questions: which elements can be used as affixoids, and in what combinations? How common are one-to-one translation pairs? From which parts of the lexicon are affixoids taken? etc.

The contrastive survey showed that affixoids can be classified into three major groups:

The first group contains cognate pairs like *Blitz-/blix-*, *knall-/knall-*, *-frei/-fri*, *-betont/-betonad* ‘with an emphasis on’ (the past participle of *betonen/betona* ‘emphasize’), *-reich/-rik* ‘rich’, *-voll/-ful* ‘full’. In this case, the affixoids are etymologically identical.

The second group contains pairs which are not cognate but correspond to each other semantically as *Riesen-/jätte-*, *grund-/botten-* ‘bottom’, *-arm/-fattig*, *-freudig/-glad* ‘cheerful, jolly’, *-freundlich/-vänlig* ‘friendly’, *-müde/-trött*.

The thirdly and final group contains the remainder, i.e. those affixoids that do not correspond to any affixoid in the other language at all, e.g. the German *Bilderbuch-* ‘picture-book’ and *-lawine* ‘avalanche’ and the Swedish *kalkon* ‘turkey’, *skalle* ‘skull’.

Cross-linguistic comparison also reveals a conspicuous difference between prefixoids and suffixoids. Prefixoids are mostly language-individual, i.e. they belong mainly to groups 2 and 3, for example the German *Nullachtfünfzehn-*, which originates from soldiers’ jargon (08/15 was the name of the standard machine-gun of the German army in World War I, first introduced in 1908, re-designed in 1915), and the Swedish *fantom-*, which originally referred to the comic-strip character *Fantomen*. In both languages prefixoids are mostly based on negatively connotated roots that have received a more general reading and, as prefixoids, can now be used for positive augmentation: examples from German are *Bomben-*, *sau-*, *stink-* and from Swedish *as-*, *skit-*, *svin-*. It is clear, however, that Swedish affixoids have generally gone further in this evolution than German ones, which will be illustrated in more detail below. Suffixoids on the other hand are often the same in both languages and mainly belong to groups 1 and 2. Since they do not serve an augmentative function, they do not carry any emotional meaning; just think of the allround suffixoid *-mäßig* ‘wise’. Rather, their function is grammatical, viz. transpositional. As a consequence, suffixoids originate mainly from adjectives, while prefixoids are mainly noun-based.

4.2. Detailed Comparison

4.2.1. *Riesen-/jätte-*

In a second step, we will compare a few affixoids in more detail, beginning with two prefixoids. One of the best-known and most productive prefixoids is *Riesen-/jätte-*, which as a root means ‘giant’ and as prefixoid means ‘very, extraordinary’. As far as combinations are concerned into which *Riesen-* and *jätte-* tend to enter, corpus-based comparison shows that each language has its own preferences. German mainly combines *Riesen-* with nouns, whereas Swedish mostly uses *jätte-* with adjectives. Typical examples are expressions for being hungry and thirsty. In German, one can only *einen Riesen hunger* or *Riesendurst haben*, with a noun; in

Swedish, one can only *vara jättehugrig* or *jättetörstig*, with an adjective. Other characteristics that distinguish the two languages are the elliptical use of *jätte* in Swedish (cf. above), which is impossible with German *Riese*, and the possibility of combining *Riesen-* with nouns denoting people, e.g. *Riesenathlet* ‘great athlete’ and *Riesenidiot* ‘big idiot’, which, though not excluded in Swedish, is much more rare with *jätte-*. In general, these formations translate literally in both directions.

4.2.2. *Scheiß-/skit-*

The prefixoid *Scheiß-/skit-* used to be popular mainly in youth slang. These days, however, it is accepted more widely and is regularly used in the media, listed in dictionaries etc. Comparing the information in dictionaries and corpora, we find that Swedish *skit-* is mainly used with adjectives and German *Scheiß-* mainly with nouns. There’s often no literal translation available in either direction; instead one has to rely on ad-hoc translations, which in turn do not show any phraseological pattern. There is also a semantic difference that emerges in combinations with adjectives: Swedish *skit-* has a purely amplifying meaning and is able to express intense feelings of any kind, for example *skitbra* ‘very good, great’, *skitkul* ‘a lot of fun, very nice’. It has thus moved further along the desemanticization cline than German *Scheiß-*, which has more or less retained its negative meaning. A combination like *scheißgut* is difficult to imagine, except perhaps in young people’s slang, and in words like *scheißfein* and *scheißfreundlich*, the affixoid is used ironically to express contempt or annoyance at fine clothes that are perceived as overkill or misplaced and behaviour that is felt to be unnaturally friendly.

4.2.3. *-freundlich/-vänlig*

As the examples just discussed suggest, prefixoids may be language-individual to a greater or lesser degree and do not always translate literally, let alone into another prefixoid. Generally it seems that those prefixoids that are semantically most generalized and thus more advanced in the process of grammaticalisation tend to be cognate and translate literally. Such etymological alliances are more usual among suffixoids, however; *-freundlich/-vänlig* is a good example.

The suffixoid *-freundlich/-vänlig* is used in two associated meanings: ‘favourable, pleasant, helpful’ and ‘well-disposed (towards s.th.), friendly (towards s.th.)’. The line between both readings is vague and there are many combinations, e.g. with *familien/familj* ‘family’, *frauen/kvinno* ‘women’, *hunde/hund* ‘dog’, *jugend/ungdoms* ‘youth’, *katzen/katt* ‘cat’, *kinder/barn* ‘children’ etc. In such combinations, *-freundlich/vänlig* can often be interpreted both ways; compare, for instance, *kinderfreundliche Seife* ‘child-friendly soap, soap adapted to children’ with *kinderfreundlicher Vergnügungspark* ‘child-friendly fun fair’, and *hundvänligt foder* ‘food suitable for dogs’ with *hundvänligt hotell* ‘dog-friendly hotel’. In both languages the compound forms are composed of a noun (e.g. *augen-/ögon-* ‘eye’) or verbstem (e.g. *bade-/bad-* ‘bathe’) plus *-freundlich/-vänlig*. The second meaning, however, only occurs in combinations with verb stems. The corpus shows that *-freundlich/-vänlig* is a typical allround suffixoid which can express any positive or favourable evaluation imaginable. It therefore appears in all registers and lexical domains in each language, translating easily in both directions.

4.2.4. *-hungrig/-hungrig*

Unlike *-freundlich/-vänlig*, the suffixoid pair *-hungrig/-hungrig* is etymologically identical; like *-freundlich/-vänlig*, it occurs in all registers and combines with either nouns or verb stems. It combines much more often with verb stems in German than in Swedish, however, and it is also less productive generally than *-freundlich/-vänlig*. As with many other suffixoid formations (including *-freundlich/-vänlig*), it can be difficult to decide whether the first part of the combination is a noun or a verb stem. In German *reisehungrig* ‘longing to travel’, e.g., *reise-* is probably derived from the noun *Reise* ‘journey’, but in its Swedish equivalent *reshungrig*, the first element is more likely to be derived from the verb stem *res-* ‘travel’ (whence also the infinitive *res-a* ‘to travel’ and inflected forms like *res-a-r* ‘I / you / etc. travel’); in *spielhungrig/spelhungrig* ‘longing to play’, the first element could be either the noun *Spiel/spel* ‘game, play’ or the verb stem *spiel-/spel-* ‘play’ in both languages. *-hungrig/-hungrig* often translates literally in both directions and if it does not, German formations can usually be paraphrased by *sugen på N*, *sugen på att V* in Swedish and Swedish formations by *begierig nach N*, *begierig zu V* in German, e.g. German *fußballhungrig* ‘sugen på fotboll’, *leistungshungrig* ‘sugen på att prestera’, Swedish *litteraturhungrig* ‘begierig nach Literatur’ etc. The reason why *-hungrig/-hungrig* is altogether less productive and less widely used than *-freundlich/-vänlig* may have something to do with the fact that *-hungrig/-hungrig* is partly in competition with other affixoids that express the idea of ‘longing for’ (with various nuances) in both languages, viz. *-durstig* and *-geil* in German and *-törstig*, *-sugen* and *-kåt* in Swedish. Of these, *-sugen* in particular is very productive in colloquial Swedish.

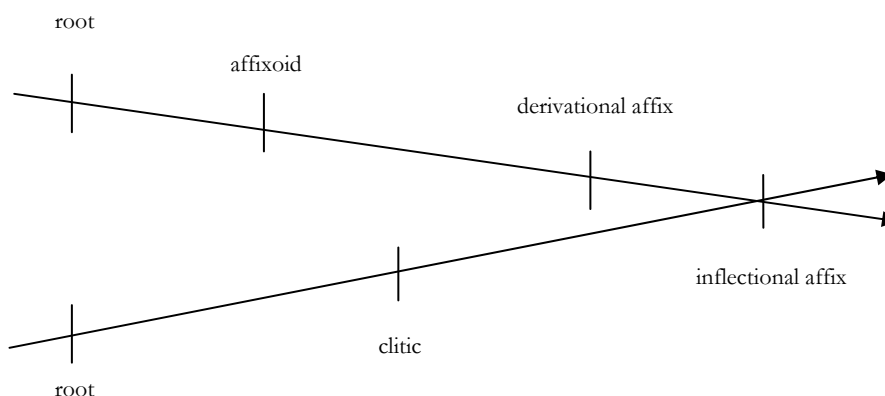
5. Wider Issues

While we are clearly only just at the beginning of our in-depth contrastive investigation, the crosslinguistic perspective taken here confirms the recent rehabilitation of “affixoid” as an empirically useful label for a cluster of word-formation phenomena that do not constitute a category of the linguistic system as such but are nonetheless of considerable theoretical interest because of their intermediate position (both synchronically and diachronically) on the composition–derivation cline. We would therefore encourage Swedish linguists to adopt the notion of “affixoid” as a means of revealing synchronic similarities and diachronic tendencies among seemingly distinct phenomena that may not be apparent from language-internal study and of throwing new light on issues that are otherwise discussed separately for individual languages, if at all (cf. KÖNIG 1996 on the idea and advantages of contrastive typology). Another language whose description might profit from the notion of “affixoid” in this way is Dutch: quite apart from the very close genetic relationship with German, at least one handbook of Dutch morphology does mention affixoid-like phenomena (BOOIJ / VAN SANTEN 1998: 154, 162, 183, with references), and the terms “affixoid” and “grammaticalization” actually appear side by side, with Dutch examples, in a recent introductory textbook to morphology written in English (BOOIJ 2005: 86). With the language sample thus expanded, it might also be interesting to study the relationship of affixoids, especially prefixoids, with other domains of the lexicon and the wider

linguistic system in a cross-linguistic light. Since prefixoids tend to express evaluations, it would not come as a surprise if prefixoids, particularly negatively-evaluating ones, turned out to share source domains with curses and swear-words. Highly suggestive in this context are the four (Northern) Dutch prefixoids listed by DE CALUWE & DEVOS (1998: 26), viz. *klote-* ('testicles', e.g. *klote-film* 'bad film'), *klere-* ('cholera', e.g. *klere-wijf* 'bad woman'), *pokke-* ('smallpox', e.g. *pokke-weer* 'bad weather') and *reuze-* ('giant', e.g. *reuze-lol* 'great pleasure'): the first three of the four are negatively evaluating and impossible in either German or Swedish, where the names of genitals and diseases are not normally used for cursing and swearing (see NÜBLING & VOGEL 2004). The positively evaluating prefix 'giant', on the other hand, occurs in all three languages in question.

Given such connections, it is clear that any cross-linguistic comparison of affixoids will benefit not only from an expansion of the language sample on typological grounds but also from a more finely-tuned methodology for the comparison itself. Based on a typologically diverse set of languages including German, English, French, Russian and Swahili, HAASE has already suggested a set of ten parameters which he believes together constitute the composition–derivation continuum (1988: 33; cf. BRADAR-SZABÓ & BRDAR 2000 for discussion). Since HAASE also emphasizes the pivotal role of grammaticalization in the typological study of word-formation, the existing articles by STEVENS (2005) and MUNSKE (2002) are likely to form important building-blocks for such an undertaking. STEVENS describes the relationship between affixoids and their etyma (or affixoids and other means of word-formation with which they alternate) in terms of layering, divergence, persistence, decategorization and generalization (cf. HOPPER 1991) and in terms of a loss of integrity and paradigmatic variability and an increase of bondedness (cf. LEHMANN 1995). MUNSKE (2002: 28f.) notes in addition the parallel between the affixoid–etymon relationship and the relationship of auxiliaries with main verbs, the relationship of modal particles with adverbs etc.

Where the two authors differ, however, is with regard to the wider perspectives in which they set their results. Stevens' main interest is in establishing different grammaticalization paths that lead towards the same target, viz. inflectional affixes. He visualizes the paths as follows (STEVENS 2005: 81):



By contrast, MUNSKE's interest is in the first instance synchronic. Later on in the paper cited above, he shifts his attention to the co-occurrence of various grammaticalization stages in present-day German word-formation, ranging from (i) a syntagma of free lexemes through (ii) univerbation or incorporation, (iii) stabilization or fixation ("Verfestigung") as a serial model of composition, and (iv) bleaching-out of the lexical meaning of one member, to (v) phonological reduction, possibly to zero, with a resulting potential for reanalysis as zero-derivation (i.e. conversion) or implicit derivation (2002: 37). By adding as step (vi) the filling of the functional gap by a syntagma of free lexemes (ibid.), MUNSKE then expands his perspective diachronically, pointing out that strategies of word-formation in a given language may run through a long-term cycle or spiral in essentially the same way as has been suggested for grammatical morphology and syntax at large (HOPPER & TRAUGOTT 2003: 21). MUNSKE admits that the cycle may stop at any stage for a given element and that no individual element has as yet been shown to have run the full cycle in documented linguistic history (2002: 37). But he does emphasize that all the phenomena listed by him are well-attested in different word-formation models since Old High German times. Like GIANNOULOPOULOU, who (in this issue) makes a parallel case for a grammaticalization approach to confixes, STEVENS and MUNSKE thus highlight the potential of grammaticalization to raise fruitful hypotheses for future cross-linguistic research into affixoids and word-formation in general.

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